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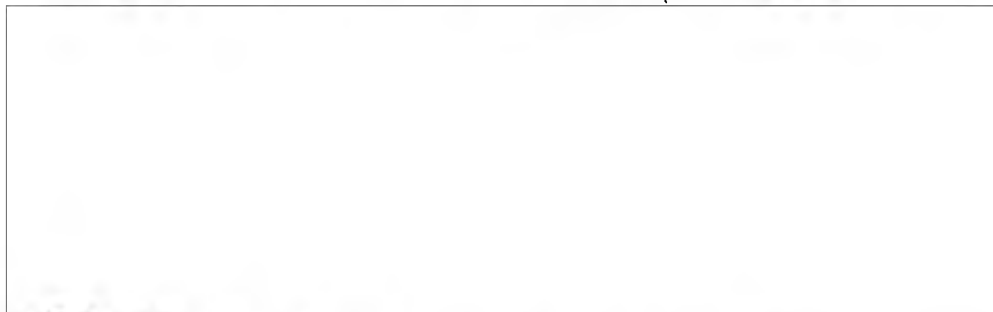
25 YEAR RE-REVIEW

ER

September 29, 1958

Dear Allen,

I am at last able to give you my complete report on South Africa. (You already have my Memoranda on Ghana and Ethiopia).



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The situation in South Africa is not only intensely interesting and complex, but rather frightening. A glance at the Table of Contents will show you some of the various aspects of the many problems, and in the last chapter I tried to point out some of the things that will have to be done if an explosion is to be avoided.

Let me know if you, or anyone else in your office, would like to ask questions about specific points where - in an attempt to condense - I may not have made myself entirely clear.

With kind regards,

As ever,

SIGNED



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SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA

1958

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. Introductory	1
II. The Doctrine of Apartheid.	5
III. Apartheid and the Nationalists	8
IV. Apartheid and the United Party	11
V. Apartheid and the Bantu.	14
1. The Primitive Native	14
2. The Effects of Segregation	16
3. The Bantu Reserves	21
VI. Communism in South Africa.	25
VII. South Africa and the Commonwealth.	30
VIII. The British Protectorates.	35
IX. South-West Africa.	39
X. What of the Future?.	42

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1958

I. Introductory

South Africa is unlike any other country in the world and it would require years of intensive study to enable one to present a complete and accurate picture of its manifold political, economic, and social problems - all of which are formidable. Superficially, the climate is excellent, the soil rich, the mineral wealth enormous, and life for the Europeans extremely pleasant. There is practically no unemployment - there is actually a shortage of labor, especially on the farms - industries and business are flourishing, the national income has trebled in the last 20 years at a rate twice that of the United States, foreign capital is easily attracted, there is an air of great prosperity, and a spirit of confidence in the future which is a little reminiscent of early California pioneer days.

And yet, there are few nations in the world that face a domestic difficulty of the magnitude of that of South Africa, or whose ramifications are as staggering. I refer, of course, to the acute and intricate racial situation between the Whites and the non-Whites on the one hand, and between the Dutch and British elements on the other. This situation is full of emotional dynamite, but it is certain that neither a purely emotional approach nor a purely logical approach can possibly lead to a practical solution of the problem.

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In this Memorandum I shall therefore limit myself to an unembroidered presentation of facts - insofar as they are ascertainable - and shall do so with the least possible bias. And as the problem of race relations overshadows all others, I shall confine myself largely to a discussion of that problem alone, rather than attempt to cover such extremely important and interesting subjects as finance, mining, and industry. All these are, of course, directly or indirectly also affected by the racial problem.

Before one can undertake to discuss that problem it is necessary to bear certain basic factors in mind. The Union of South Africa (including South-West Africa) occupies an area almost as large as France, Spain, and Italy put together, and has a population of not quite 15 million people, who in round figures are divided as follows:

Whites	-	3 million
Negroes	-	10 million
Half-castes	-	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ million
Asiatics	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ million

It should be explained here that in the somewhat confusing South African terminology Negroes are invariably referred to as Bantu, and those of mixed blood as Colored. The Bantu form the great bulk of the negro population south of the Congo who migrated into South Africa only as recently as the 18th and 19th centuries. Most of the Coloreds live in the Cape Province and are therefore often referred to as Cape Coloreds. They are the descendants of early Dutch and

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

English sailors and settlers, and of the original black inhabitants such as the Hottentots and Bushmen (now practically extinct) with an admixture of slaves from East Africa and Madagascar. The Asiatics are made up almost entirely of Indians who had been imported to work in the sugar plantations of Natal nearly a hundred years ago. The remainder of the Asiatics consist of some Malays who, like the Coloreds, live in the Cape Province and are therefore usually called Cape Malays.

Of the Whites over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million are the descendants of the Dutch who first landed at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, and later moved further north and founded the two Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. They speak a language they call Afrikaans, a corrupt form of 17th century Dutch which today can hardly be understood even in Holland. The other principal white population consists of the descendants of British settlers, who arrived about a hundred years later than the Dutch and settled mostly in the Cape Province and in Natal. They are, of course, English-speaking and number a little over one million souls.

The Whites are officially referred to as Europeans and all others as non-Europeans. The white minority has a complete monopoly of both political power and economic wealth, and has every intention of preserving its dominant position at all costs. But it is by no

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

means a solid minority because, for historical and linguistic reasons, there is a very definite antagonism between the English and the Dutch which is tending to increase rather than diminish. It is estimated that over 1.5 million Whites speak Afrikaans and about 1.2 million speak English. Some 60% are bi-lingual, and about 50% belong to the Dutch Reformed Church.

When the Boer War was over (1902) the British embarked on an enlightened policy of conciliation and established a United South African nation. This included the two former Dutch republics and the two British colonies (Cape Province and Natal). A South African constitution was drawn up by a national convention in Durban in 1909 by delegations from the four colonies. The Union was agreed upon and approved by the British Parliament in the form of the South African Act of 1910. Under it the British Government assumed a responsibility for insuring that it was not violated. (It is important to remember this in view of the National Party's racial legislation some of which was declared unconstitutional by the Courts). For even the Statute of Westminster (1931) merely acknowledged South Africa's full sovereignty, but did not vitiate the 1909 Constitution which could not be arbitrarily revised by a South African government. How this deadlock was finally resolved will be explained in connection with the "Separate Representation of Voters Act" on page 9 below.

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

As long ago as 1910 many people, both in South Africa and in England, questioned the wisdom of forming a Union of all four colonies. In the first place, because the Dutch population was much larger than that of British extraction and had a higher birth rate, but principally because there was already then a pronounced conflict noticeable between the reactionary, patriarchal attitude of the Boers toward the natives, and the more liberal and enlightened ideas current in the Cape and in Natal. Subsequent history proved these misgivings to be well-founded.

II. The Doctrine of Apartheid

South Africa today is governed entirely in accordance with a philosophy of life which believes in rigid racial segregation and is known by its Afrikaans name of Apartheid. Although the principle of segregation has always been accepted in South Africa - as also, of course, in many other countries - it is only within the last ten years, i.e., since the National Party came into power, that a determined attempt has been made to enforce an extreme color bar by law and regulations.

The doctrine of apartheid is officially known as "Ethnic Grouping" and is based upon a deep-seated tradition of racial inequality. The majority of the Whites in South Africa of both

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political parties - and among them many intellectuals - quite honestly believe that they must solve this problem in the light of the experience gained by past generations, not only in South Africa but in the United States. And as regards the United States they claim that they are approaching the race issue with far less hypocrisy than we do.

Generally speaking, drawing a rigid line between Whites and Blacks is considered necessary for the following principal reasons, although one does not often hear them all mentioned by the same person:

1. There is an unbridgeable gulf between the two races which is instinctively recognized by both, and which neither side feels any particular desire to cross.
2. The Dutch Reformed Church accepts this fact as the will of God, although it insists of course that segregation must not be used as an excuse for cruelty or injustice in its application.
3. As the non-Whites outnumber the Whites by nearly 4 to 1 it is obvious that by granting political, social, and economic rights to the natives the latter would soon reduce the Whites to an impotent minority.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

4. This must not be allowed to happen because
 - (a) three hundred years ago the white man found a practically uninhabited South Africa. The Bantus migrated south from Central Africa years later, and have therefore less claim to the country than the Europeans. The latter gradually created a highly civilized nation, which is now the only home they have. Their roots are deep in the African soil and they do not want to "commit suicide";
 - (b) the continued existence of Western civilization in the whole of Africa is at stake. On a continent of some 200 million Blacks the Europeans in South Africa are today the only group capable of preserving their cultural identity and defend it against a sea of barbarism which threatens to engulf them;
 - (c) apart from considerations of self-preservation, South Africa is today a vital stronghold of the Western world in its struggle for survival in the cold war. With the abdication of the white man it would rapidly become a hotbed of Communist intrigues and a potential powerful enemy in a strategically important position.

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

5. Apartheid is thus frankly a policy of white domination for reasons of self-interest, and its advocates believe it to be the only means by which a lowering of standards and a general disintegration of morals and of economic prosperity can be prevented. It is not opposed to progress among the Bantu, but insists that it must be along separate lines and in the Native Reserves only. (See page 21, below).

III. Apartheid and the Nationalists

Although the above views are shared, to a greater or lesser extent, by a majority of the white inhabitants, it was under the National Party - led by such Prime Ministers as Hertzog (1924-1939), Malan (1948-1954), and Strijdom (1954-1958) - that they became the official policy of the Government. It is true that as long ago as 1920 an Act of the South African Parliament denied political rights to the Blacks, and that another Act in 1926 kept them out of certain skilled employments, but Apartheid as an ideology was not translated into detailed legislation until much more recently. It may be useful to enumerate here the principal laws under which it is carried out today:

- Natives (Urban Areas) Conciliation Act (1945)
- Group Areas Act (1949)
- Mixed Marriage Act (1949)
- Immorality Act (1950)
- Industrial Conciliation Act (1956)
- Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act (1956)
- Separate Representations of Voters Act (1951; re-enacted 1956)

CONFIDENTIAL

Of these laws only the last named encountered serious constitutional difficulties and created much bitterness, not only between the Coloreds and the Europeans, but between South Africa and England (see page 4, above). Designed specifically to put the Colored voters on a separate electoral roll in order to prevent their voting against the Nationalists, this law affected some 45,000 male voters of mixed blood (qualified by not very strict literacy and property tests) who had heretofore been on a common roll with the Whites and thus held the balance of power in several constituencies by controlling six or seven seats in the House of Assembly (Parliament). The National Party was determined to stop this by relegating them to the same status as the Bantus and the Indians, i.e., entitled only to elect their own (white) representatives.

This Act was in 1952 declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of South Africa, which held that the Coloreds had been assured of their full franchise, on a footing of equality with the Europeans, by the original Constituent Act of 1909, which formed the whole basis of the Union's political existence. It was also found to violate the pledges given by Prime Ministers Smuts and Hertzog when the Statute of Westminster recognized South Africa's sovereignty. These pledges were that the franchise rights of the Coloreds would be respected and that they would not be altered without the concurrence of a two-thirds majority vote of a joint session of both Houses of the Union Parliament.

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After the elections of 1953, which resulted in another victory for the Nationalists, Prime Minister Malan desired to break this deadlock by sponsoring an Act which placed judicial authority in Parliament. This law was in turn declared to be illegal by a unanimous vote of the Supreme Court. The Nationalists then resorted to the questionable expedient of packing the Senate so drastically that they would get the required two-thirds majority of the two Houses sitting together, which they had hitherto been unable to obtain. Despite considerable opposition the Senate Act was passed, enlarging it from 48 to 89 members, and the Separate Representation of Voters Act finally became law (November 12, 1956) since the Supreme Court was obliged to declare it constitutional. In the elections of last April, therefore, the Coloreds for the first time had to vote separately for four White special deputies of their own, instead of as in the past voting with the Europeans for the regular members of Parliament.

I have thought it necessary to go into these details not because of the importance of the Colored vote, but because of the illustration they furnish of the dogged, almost fanatical, perseverance of the National Party in pursuing a policy of political inequality even at the risk of straining the Constitution beyond the limits of the law. In this particular instance the result may ultimately prove in the

- 10 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

nature of a boomerang; for it is undeniable that in the past the Coloreds - nine-tenths of whom live in the Cape Province - have nearly always, by instinct and by preference, felt themselves as part of the civilization of the white folk and have sided with them on all major issues. (Incidentally, they have never sought social equality). They are inextricably part of the white population - if for no other reason because, unlike the Bantu, they have no other place to go. But having now been quite ruthlessly driven into the camp of the Blacks they may well seek to give expression to their resentment by trying to organize their more helpless brethren and incite them to revolt by passive, or even active, resistance.

IV. Apartheid and the United Party

It seems obvious that the Nationalists' victories in 1948 and 1953, and now again in 1958, were largely due to the fact that only a negligible number of Europeans in South Africa really believe in political and social equality between Whites and Blacks. They are therefore not particularly shocked by a crude doctrine like Apartheid. Consequently, neither of the two principal Parties wants anything like complete integration, and the Liberals are too small a minority to carry any political weight.

Nevertheless, the United Party - under the very able leadership of Sir de Villiers Graaf, himself an Afrikaner - prides itself on the

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

fact that it is farsighted enough to realize that some concessions will have to be made to the non-Whites if a major conflict is to be avoided. It therefore advocates a policy of moderation as a starting point for a middle-of-the-road course which might at least lead in the right direction.

The supporters of the United Party dislike the extremism of the Nationalists, and especially the totalitarian trend in the present Government. While accepting the traditional form of social and residential segregation as inevitable, they were generally opposed to the enactment of the stringent and elaborate laws to which I have already referred (page 8, above), and they deplore the needlessly offensive manner in which they are often enforced. They are prepared to be conciliatory and to compromise in the interest of greater harmony between the natives and the Europeans and, incidentally, between the Afrikaners and the English-speaking people. They do not want any more unreasonable racist laws on the statute books and are fighting, for example, the present attempt to force the "open" universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand to impose the same student color bars that exist in the Afrikaner universities.

The United Party would like to win as much as possible the goodwill of the non-Europeans by a gradual extension of political rights to the "educated" among them, and thus train a responsible

- 12 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

class with a stake in the country. It believes that the natives would respond to a policy of justice and would cooperate in a program of reforms, even though this might require certain firm guarantees for the maintenance of White leadership. It also hopes that some form of economic integration will be able to safeguard the phenomenal prosperity which has been created largely by British capital, the skill and enterprise of English-speaking South Africans, and an abundant supply of cheap native labor.

By and large the followers of the United Party seem to be more conscious of the fact that the present racial policy is morally "wrong" and will in the end prove unworkable. They frequently have the courage to give expression to the under-current of uneasiness shared by many Whites in South Africa, and feel that steps should be taken toward a more equitable solution of the problem.

The United Party suffers from the fact that its supporters are recruited primarily from the English-speaking group which is likely to be in a permanent minority, and many of whose members are politically inactive and do not even trouble to vote. In the recent elections (April 1958) they secured only 53 seats in the Parliament, against the National Party's 103. They miss the inspiring leadership which Field Marshal Smuts's great personality gave them up to the time of his death and which had held the Party together. Being

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

naturally more pro-British than the others they are also handicapped by the hostility of the Afrikaners, who attack them not only because of their more liberal racial views but because of their staunch loyalty to the British Commonwealth.

The United Party is very anxious to do something to restore South Africa's good name abroad by insisting that there can be a constructive side even to Apartheid, and in this respect at least they can count on the cooperation of quite a few Afrikaners. No South African wants deliberately to endanger the role which he believes his country is destined to play in world affairs, and especially on the African continent. The return of the Union to full participation in the United Nations this year is undoubtedly one of the results of this concern.

V. Apartheid and the Bantu

1. The Primitive Native.

One of the principal differences between the negro problem in South Africa and our Deep South - apart from the fact that the Bantu outnumber the Whites about 4 to 1 - is the extremely backward state of the African natives. The vast majority are quite obviously still much too close to barbarism to be able to shift for themselves without much guidance and control of the white man for many years to

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

come. The Dutch Reformed Church adheres to the belief that it is therefore part of the task of Christianity to be the guardian of the Bantu and to look after their welfare, and that Apartheid is the best way to accomplish that. But although nearly 60% of the Bantu are said to be at least nominally Christians, the hidden influence of the African bush is still firmly entrenched among them.

The authorities are constantly surprised by the number of well-authenticated cases of ritual murders with which they have to deal. These brutal murders are committed at the behest of witch doctors for the purpose of obtaining certain organs from the victims with which to make "medicine." Many natives consult these "doctors" because witchcraft is a very popular belief and almost impossible to eradicate. In every town there are regular shops where one can buy the paraphernalia used by witch doctors, such as various concoctions, as well as masks and other ceremonial objects for tribal initiation practices and other obscure customs.

What is perhaps most disturbing is that these bestial cults do not seem to be confined only to the most primitive natives, but are found even among those who have been more or less Christianized and who have more than elementary education. In fact, a case of ritual murder was reported while I was in South Africa, perpetrated by a graduate of a foreign university who had "gone native" again.

- 15 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

One can not help but suspect that if the Europeans left today the Bantu would tomorrow quite readily return not only to tribal warfare, slavery, and head-hunting, but even to human sacrifices and cannibalism!

2. The Effects of Segregation.

It would be idle to pretend that the non-Whites in South Africa have many rights under the laws which govern their existence, the most important of which I have mentioned on page 8, above. For them there never was such a thing as a Magna Carta or Bill of Rights. It is true that a relatively small number among them is allowed to elect a few individuals to represent them in the House of Assembly, but these representatives must be Whites. The latter usually belong to the United Party and have very little political influence, although they often speak up for the Bantu with considerable frankness and courage.

Even allowing for the great difference in civilization between the Bantu and the American Negro, an American visiting South Africa is struck by the fact that the Whites there obviously do not believe even theoretically in equal opportunity for the Blacks. On the contrary, the non-Whites are officially told that the Government has no intention of ever granting them any political rights, and that they will be permanently excluded from participation in a normal

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

life so long as they live in a European community. And therein probably lies the greatest inherent injustice and weakness of Apartheid.

The social color bar which exists everywhere in South Africa is strictly enforced and all non-Europeans are made to keep their place. The average white South African never meets an educated native on any social level, and the two races lead entirely separate lives - each ignoring the other in all human relationships except those of master and servant. And even then there is often a deplorable display of racial animosity which varies only in degree - being less pronounced in the Cape and Natal than in the Transvaal and Free State. But everywhere there is of course strict segregation in places of public entertainment, hotels, restaurants, many churches, etc.

The application in practice of the doctrine of Apartheid faces its most serious (if not insuperable) difficulty in the fact that the vast mining and industrial interests in South Africa are entirely dependent on Black labor. This labor is not nearly as plentiful as one might expect, and is said to be inefficient except under close supervision. And as neither mines nor factories could exist on a supply of casual migrant labor, the acute problem has been created of fitting several million de-tribalized Bantu into a highly complex industrial economy.

- 17 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Attracted by relatively high wages, the male Bantu leave their villages and flock to the industrial and mining centers. However, as they are not permitted to live in the cities, but only on the outskirts in areas known as "locations," this has caused huge shanty-towns to spring up near large cities (especially Johannesburg) made of dried mud and packing cases and beaten-out oil cans. And as a Bantut's wife and children are (with rare exceptions) not allowed to join him in the cities, normal family life is destroyed and causes much immorality and disease. Only too often the native does not return to his village at all.

The life of the Bantu in the cities is circumscribed by an incredible number of restrictions. In the first place, he must of course have an identification card; then he must have a permit to work, and another one if he is out of work; a permit to move from place to place; a license to sell anything; a permit to spend even a single night in the city; etc., etc. All these documents have to be periodically renewed and must be carried on his person at all times. Failure to do so, or the slightest irregularity in dates or signatures, means a fine or even imprisonment. His home may be searched and he may be arrested without warrants. To obtain or change these various permits he often has to stand in long queues for hours after his day's work is done. Incidentally, this he is also

- 18 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

obliged to do while waiting for the busses to take him to and from work, as the "locations" are usually many miles away.

The Union Government desired several years ago to remove all natives from the notorious slums in or near Johannesburg, such as "Newclare," "Sophiatown," and "Martindale," to new housing developments still further away. Although this is undoubtedly a bona fide slum-clearing program and the new "locations" are (e.g., "Meadowlands" and "Orlando") far superior in every respect to the old ones, the manner in which it was carried out by the Native Resettlement Board amounted to forcible eviction, and was strongly opposed and resented by the Blacks. The Government was privately accused of merely wanting to get rid of them because they occupied valuable land close to the city, and also because they were too near the white quarters in case of racial rioting. Whatever the reason, police and even troops had sometimes to be used to put the removal scheme into effect. It is anticipated that at least five or six more years will be required to complete it at Johannesburg and a few other cities.

Apart from the general restrictions just described, the Bantu are also subjected to the following disabilities:

- (a) They are not permitted to be skilled laborers in competition with Whites. Under a system of "job reservations" many categories of work are reserved

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

exclusively for white labor. (In the clothing industry this caused such a manpower shortage that last year this industry had to be exempted from the application of the law). About the highest jobs open to them outside of the Reserves are those of waiters, chauffeurs, policemen, and telephone operators. Skilled white workers always fear that if natives were to be trained they would soon oust them from their jobs at lower wages. And as only white labor has the vote, both Parties are eager to protect them also for political reasons;

- (b) They can occupy no clerical positions (except a few in the Native Affairs Department and in the Reserves) and are excluded from all administrative positions in the government, the post office, railways, banks, and business firms; female native trained nurses exist, but are not allowed to work with white groups;
- (c) They are not allowed to own any real estate in urban areas and rural townships, except in the Reserves;
- (d) They are excluded from all white labor unions, and migrant native labor is not authorized to organize any unions of its own;
- (e) All forms of miscegenation are outlawed and severely punished;

- 20 -

CONFIDENTIAL

(f) No Bantu is permitted to buy or possess any hard liquor, and Europeans are forbidden to let them have access to any even as house servants.

3. The Bantu Reserves.

The theory of Apartheid being that there must be an entirely separate development of the racial groups, the ideal arrangement would, of course, be total physical partition of the country between the Bantu and the Whites. If this should ever prove feasible - and few people honestly believe it can - it would require an immense effort to develop the economic resources of the so-called "Native Reserves" which already exist and to increase their number.

These Reserves lie mostly in the eastern and northern parts of the Union and were declared inalienable Bantu "homelands" in 1913, covering about 22½ million acres. Since then, under the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, over 15 million more acres have been purchased by the State, and the total is expected to reach a vast 42 million acres in a few years. Unfortunately these territories are not contiguous but occur in 16 parcels of various sizes, of which the largest is Transkei (near Natal) with some 15,000 square miles. The Union Government hopes some day to combine these areas into three or four large Reserves - especially if and when the British Protectorates have been incorporated (see page 35, below) - and that it will then be possible to settle about 75% of the Bantu population in them. Only about 30% (or 3.6 million) live there now.

CONFIDENTIAL

South Africa would then consist of an essentially white area and a completely black area - the ultimate aim of those who advocate "total" Apartheid. They believe that the two races, with their utterly different cultural levels, could thus develop peacefully side by side within their respective racial groups. Until the Bantu are able to assume the responsibilities of self-government they will be assisted by Europeans. According to an official Nationalist statement "the individual Bantu's ambitions will be channeled into the framework of his own Bantu society, so that as he progresses he will not abandon his own people in order to penetrate the white man's society, nor want to participate in the latter's government". White settlers have been excluded from the Reserves for many years, and as soon as enough Bantu skilled workmen have been trained, all competition from skilled white labor will likewise be excluded.

The Reserves are said to contain some of the best agricultural land in South Africa, but much of it has not been efficiently tilled by the natives who are apt to overgraze it and allow soil erosion to set in. The plan is to change from the present communal tenure to individual ownership and thereby prevent the present practice of having too many cultivators make a living from the same piece of land. Many natives (about 25% of them) are now obliged to leave

- 22 -

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the Reserves and work as migrants in the mines because they cannot earn enough even to pay their taxes. In order to make the Reserves fully self-supporting and self-sufficient a vast rehabilitation scheme has been elaborated which includes the establishment of secondary industries on a large scale.

All this requires the expenditure of prodigious sums of money - several hundreds of millions, over 70% of which has to come out of the pockets of the Whites - and has already caused some grumbling even in Nationalist circles. The latter are also worried lest an intensive rehabilitation of the Reserves deprive the white areas of the convenient reservoir of black labor for the mines and industries which it has always been in the past. Many thoughtful Whites, moreover, such as the late Sir Ernest Oppenheimer - who himself spent millions of his private fortune on the new housing developments (see page 18, above) - do not believe that the development of the Reserves is practicable on a scale that would enable them to support a much larger Bantu population than the present.

The Union of South Africa, it must be admitted, is certainly devoting a large proportion of its revenues to the advancement and improvement of its native subjects. In the ten years between 1948 and 1958 very nearly 200 million dollars were spent on Bantu agriculture, housing, health, welfare services, and education, and the Government

- 23 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

claims - probably with some justice - that it spends more per capita on the natives than any other country in Africa. For example, over 45 million dollars per annum are spent on their health and welfare alone, which includes free hospitalization, accident insurance, old age allowances, etc. And this in addition to what the mining companies are obliged to provide for their workmen in the way of housing and food, medical examinations and treatment, recreational facilities, and protection against accidents.

The Dutch Reformed Church has always done much fine work among the Bantu - especially the needy classes - but most of the missionary schools are now under state control. It is estimated that nearly 40% of the Bantu children attend the free government schools (strictly segregated, of course) and in the Reserves there are some 500 School Boards composed entirely of Bantu parents.

In order to help them develop a civilization of their own, both socially and politically, the "Bantu Authorities Act" - administered by the Native Affairs Department - has given more power to the tribal chiefs and headmen in the Reserves, and has created about 300 local self-governing bodies ("authorities") which are designed to give the natives experience in running their own affairs in their own territories.

- 24 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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An interesting phenomenon - to which the Government always points as the best proof that Apartheid cannot be as bad as its detractors claim - is the fact that for many years thousands of natives have been illegally flocking into South Africa every year from the Protectorates, the Rhodesias, and the Portuguese possessions. They often walk hundreds of miles and have to circumvent the vigilance of border patrols to find work in the Union and to take advantage of the superior health and welfare provisions. Higher wages and better living conditions doubtless help to reconcile them to a permanent position of political and social inferiority.

VI. Communism in South Africa

It would be surprising indeed if Russia did not evince an increasingly active interest in that area. Being always ready to play on mass emotions, the temptation must be irresistible to take advantage of the unhappy race relations there, and to proclaim loudly the equality and brotherhood of man - especially the coming liberation of the common man - irrespective of race and color. And yet, what is even more surprising is the fact that Communism has so far made relatively little progress in South Africa.

All we know is that there has been some infiltration of radical agitators - mostly Eastern Europeans and Indians - and that native organizations such as the African National Congress, the Natal

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National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, and the Colored People's Organization, have some leaders who are pro-Communist. In order to check more effectively whatever influence they might have, the Nationalists in 1950 passed the "Suppression of Communism Act," outlawed the Communist Party and immediately took action against persons propagating subversive doctrines. As a result, two members of the South African Parliament (S. Kahn and P. B. Bunting) and one member of the Cape Provincial Council (F. Carneson) were ousted, and other leaders were kept under close surveillance.

There is much irony in the fact that the Communist Party in South Africa had originally been founded in the early twenties among white miners who were strenuously opposed to allowing negroes to join it or even to enter the ranks of skilled workmen. It was only years later - doubtless at Soviet instigation - that the more orthodox Communist doctrine of racial equality was subscribed to. In 1952 a Communist-inspired passive resistance movement was made possible by close cooperation between the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. Since then - but with little success - efforts have been made to start a popular front movement composed of all elements directed against Apartheid and white supremacy in general.

- 26 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The "Suppression of Communism Act" was followed by the "Riotous Assemblies Act," the "Public Safety Act," a new "Criminal Law Amendment Act," and other legislation under which individuals and groups could be named as Communists and subjected to certain disabilities. These laws evidently regard Communism not merely as the doctrine of Marxian Socialism, but seem to be aimed also at any related form of that doctrine. To strive for the dictatorship of the Proletariat or to advocate violent political upheavals is of course considered illegal, but the authorities have frequently used the laws also to stifle protests against economic injustice or against extreme racial discriminations.

Drastic police raids (of questionable legality) were made over a period of years in a search for "seditious" documents, culminating in December 1956 in the arrest of 156 people - men, women, white, black, and colored - on the ground that they were suspected of plotting against the security of the State. Although 61 of them were released a few months later for lack of sufficient evidence, the remainder were still in jail (or out on bail) when I was in South Africa this spring, but they were about to be brought to trial. (They are not entitled to trial by jury.) It may be conceded that most of the prisoners may have given expression to resentment against Apartheid, but it is generally believed that probably only

- 27 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

a handful of them had ever voiced pro-Communist sentiments. To an impartial observer the whole procedure, as well as the interpretation of the various laws, seemed to be a thinly disguised political heresy-hunt aimed at elements opposed to the National Party, especially just before the April elections.

The natives - particularly those with a little schooling - are frankly bewildered by the West's loose talk about Communism, much of which they do not even understand. There is definite danger that such talk, which is frequently linked with opposition to nationalism or racial equality, not only serves to create the belief in the black man that Communism cannot, after all, be so bad if the Whites always condemn it together with his own aspirations. It seems to me it is high time that we and South Africa and the colonial powers agree on some kind of definition or explanation, in simple terms which the primitive African can comprehend, of what Communism really is and how it would affect his own way of life. Unless we do that we risk that a real Communist menace, instigated by Soviet propaganda, will dominate future race relations in South Africa and prevent any orderly and friendly adjustments. And this quite apart from the fact that it will furnish the new Russian imperialism with an enormous asset in the cold war by preaching the advantages of neutralism.

- 28 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

White South Africa is convinced that the East-West war of ideologies has already been pushed by Russia from North Africa into Equatorial Africa and that from there it is certain to spread to South Africa. There is probably some truth in that, but it is nevertheless perhaps significant that not once were the Soviet "Sputniks" ever mentioned to me from one end of Africa to the other either by Whites or Blacks. The effect of the alleged scientific superiority of the Russians on the natives of Africa was obviously negligible, in the first place because they are too backward to understand or care, and secondly because they are too absorbed in their own problems. It was therefore a great comfort to find that here at least was a vast area where the West - and particularly America - had suffered no appreciable loss of prestige on that score!

Although the Union of South Africa has diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, they are conducted through the South African High Commissioner and the Soviet Ambassador in London. During World War II several Russian consulates were established in South Africa, but in January 1956 they were ordered closed by the Union Government on the ground that they were disseminating Communist propaganda among the natives.

- 29 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL**VII. South Africa and the Commonwealth**

The period between the two world wars was one of intense nationalism for the Union of South Africa, when it felt relatively secure and when the old Dutch elements in the former republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State asserted themselves as they had never been able to do since their defeat in the Boer War. And as they constitute about 65% of the white population it was, of course, inevitable that not only their views on domestic policies, but their latent anti-British sentiments should gradually make themselves felt. It was equally inevitable that these views would in time profoundly affect South Africa's ties with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

But it was not until after World War II, and especially with the advent to power of the National Party in 1948, that a more aggressive policy was translated into action. The following specific instances will serve as significant manifestations:

In 1949 the Citizenship Act was passed which made South Africans citizens of South Africa only, instead of their being British subjects as well.

Before 1950 appeals from the decisions of the South African Appellate Division were heard by the British Privy Council, a body of judges in England. In that year an Act was passed abolishing

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

this procedure and making the judgments of South Africa's highest Court of Appeals final and not subject to review by any other court.

In 1956 South Africa insisted on having its own national flag as the only official flag, instead of flying also the flag of the United Kingdom. "Now the last relic of past colonialism is gone," exclaimed the National Party triumphantly, but the members of the United Party voted against the move.

That same year the official South African anthem, "The Voice of South Africa," took the place of the traditional "God Save the Queen," and the royal coat of arms was also eliminated.

In 1957 the British Naval Base at Simonstown (near Cape Town) was transferred to the Union, a step which not only concerned South African pride but which may have serious consequences for the defense of the Western world. And while I was in Pretoria I heard that the Royal Navy had just transferred to the Union Government also its large armaments and ammunition depot at Ganspan.

All these measures have put a considerable strain on the harmonious and cordial working of the Commonwealth ideal, but they are nothing compared to the increasing estrangement between the people of the United Kingdom and most of the white people in South Africa due to the latter's attitude toward race and color. For a multi-racial commonwealth such as the British it is naturally

- 31 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

extremely embarrassing to have one of its members officially pledged to permanent racial segregation. The repercussions of this policy have already adversely affected the influence of the British Government elsewhere, and some constitutional authorities believe that it violates the original understanding between the United Kingdom and South Africa upon which the 1910 Act of Union was based. Moreover, public opinion in England condemns Apartheid as morally indefensible, and argues with some logic that if there should be a widespread revolt against the Whites the latter would be the first to invoke their membership in the Commonwealth and expect the British to save them.

Be that as it may, there are nevertheless still some important sentimental, economic, and especially financial ties between at least 30% of the Whites in South Africa and England, which may help to keep the country in the Commonwealth despite the many points of discord. The British are undoubtedly anxious to retain the good will of South Africa - even at the risk of a mental compromise with Apartheid! - to insure the continued participation of the Union so as to strengthen the voice of the Commonwealth in world affairs. They would of course prefer that such an association should remain on the basis of a common allegiance to the Crown, but they would resign themselves, if need be, to the anomaly of an independent South African republic within the Commonwealth so long as it was genuinely willing to assume certain important responsibilities regarding defense and international problems.

- 32 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

With regard to the possibility of South Africa declaring itself a republic, it is likely that most of the Dutch elements - especially the extremists in the Transvaal - would be in favor of it. There is also a liberal wing of the United Party which would vote for such a move, although officially the United Party is opposed to the idea. Two years ago, in a speech Strijdom made in London, he said that under a republic "we shall much sooner succeed in welding the two European sections of the country into one united people or nation." He was referring to the English and Dutch elements, although in the Cape Province and certainly in Natal there is probably little support for such a plan.

The results of the 1958 general election in South Africa have undoubtedly strengthened the hands of those desiring a republic, even though it was not actually used by the Nationalists as an election issue. On April 28th Strijdom is reported to have made the somewhat sweeping assertion at a press conference that "the idea of a republic is in the blood of the South African people, and I don't think they will tolerate anything else." In saying this he could of course have only had the descendants of the original Dutch settlers in mind. The time is perhaps not yet ripe for an active movement in that direction, and it may be well to recall the words of General Hertzog, the former Boer leader and later South African Prime Minister,

- 33 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

"I have always longed for a republic in South Africa, but my common sense tells me that this would not be good for the country."

Nor can one ignore a blunt statement which occurs in the platform of the National Party and which announces that the party "is convinced that a republican form of government, separated from the British Crown, is best adapted to the traditions, circumstances, and aspirations of the South African people." It concedes, however, "that a republic can only be established on the broad basis of the people's will and that this constitutional change can be made only as a result of a special mandate from the white electorate and not merely as the result of a parliamentary majority obtained at an ordinary election."

It is therefore not impossible that the National Party may some day frankly become the "Republican Party," provided its leaders feel they can count on a safe majority for a republic among the electorate. Whether the Union as a republic would continue to remain in the Commonwealth is by no means certain. The English-speaking elements would nearly all wish to do so, but they would probably be outvoted by the Dutch. In that case Natal may decide to secede.

A curious point of view in this connection is occasionally expressed by the Afrikaners, namely that proclaiming a republic in South Africa might be pleasing to the United States and thus help counteract the very unfavorable comments voiced in America regarding the policy of Apartheid!

VIII. The British Protectorates

Among the major problems facing the Union of South Africa is the future of the three British Protectorates - Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland - which geographically obviously belong to South Africa, but which politically are still under direct British administration, and are technically known as the High Commission Territories.

The largest of these territories is Bechuanaland, with an area of some 213,000 square miles - the size of France or Texas - but with a population of only about 300,000. Most of it consists of the Kalahari Desert which is largely uninhabited. It lies directly north of the Union, and adjoins South-West Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The number of White settlers is very small, and many of the Bantu work in the gold mines of the Rand. The natives have developed an interesting system of Tribal Assemblies, which afford opportunities for public discussion and free expression of opinion, with the result that the administration (loosely supervised by the British) is much less autocratic than in other parts of Africa.

Next in size is Basutoland, with an area of some 12,000 square miles (the size of Belgium or Maryland) and a population of about 100,000. It is completely surrounded by Union territory.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The inhabitants are purely native, and no Whites are allowed to reside there except government officials, missionaries, and a few traders. As in Bechuanaland, many of the natives work in the gold mines of the Union.

The last and smallest is Swasiland, a territory of about 7,000 square miles, or roughly the size of Wales or New Jersey, which borders in the east on the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. The total population is only about 230,000. Roughly half of the inhabitants are white and half native.

The origin of these Protectorates goes back to the days before the Boer War, when certain tribal chiefs appealed to the British for protection and administrative assistance. At that time the Dutch settlers in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were anxious to expand into new lands, but as the British did not trust them to treat the natives properly, special arrangements were made for the territories which are now the Protectorates. These arrangements continued after the Boer War, and the Protectorates were excluded from the Union of South Africa. They have remained under direct British rule ever since, and the British Government has consistently maintained that no change could be effected in the status of the three territories without consulting the native inhabitants, and then only when the British Parliament had an opportunity to express its views on the subject.

- 36 -

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Government of the Union of South Africa - and more particularly the National Party which has been in control since 1948 - has repeatedly claimed that the British administration of the Protectorates was an anomaly, and has urged the British Government to transfer responsibility for their administration to the Union. It claims, with some justification, that the British Government itself, at the time the Union of South Africa was formed, had expressed the hope that the natives in these territories might later find it to their advantage to join the new South African state. It also maintains that it was absurd to pay attention to the views of backward Blacks (or rather a few of their leaders) because, as a matter of fact, they would be better off under the paternalistic provisions made for the natives by the Union. They also deny that the British Government is under any legal obligation to consult either the inhabitants of the Protectorates or the British Parliament, and that the British contention is founded on a misinterpretation of the South Africa Act of 1909. Incidentally, the Union Government accuses the British of having neglected these Protectorates, at least until recent years, and of having done very little to improve their agriculture or to foster their economic development. They point out that, Swaziland for example, depends entirely on the Union as an outlet for its agricultural produce, and that Bechuanaland

- 37 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

and Basutoland depend on the Union gold mines as an outlet for their surplus labor. All are economically very vulnerable. There is also a certain amount of trouble along the various borders when Bantu from the Union seek asylum in the Protectorates, or when chiefs from the Protectorates are subjected to indignities when they enter Union territory.

It is not likely that this controversy over the fate of the three Protectorates will be settled in any immediate future. From the British point of view it involves not only a solemn pledge to the natives that their wishes would be considered, but is intimately bound up with the whole problem of race relations in South Africa. It is felt that so long as the policy of Apartheid prevails, both the British Parliament and the inhabitants of the Protectorates would overwhelmingly vote against incorporation in the Union. The British contend that the Whites in South Africa could hardly pose as desirable rulers of natives and it would therefore be morally wrong for Great Britain to give in. There is also danger that the dispute might force Great Britain and South Africa to an open breach, and thus seriously affect Commonwealth relations.

In the meantime, South African leaders will doubtless continue to agitate in favor of incorporation as the only logical solution, and as recently as last March while I was in South Africa, Prime

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Minister Strijdom declared publicly, "We of the National Party cannot abandon South Africa's claim to the incorporation of the Protectorates." It would certainly facilitate the ultimate territorial segregation the Nationalists are aiming at. Their principal grievance, however, is that British-controlled enclaves which are geographically within Union territory actually constitute an infringement of South African sovereignty. They also fear that British policy regarding the natives is calculated to incite the Bantu against the Government of South Africa and might cause the Protectorates to be a positive threat to White supremacy. If the general relations with the Commonwealth should get worse, the Union may therefore decide some day to strangle the Protectorates economically and then to annex them. Much of the area would be used to enlarge the Bantu Reserves. (See page 21, above).

IX. South-West Africa

Another unsolved territorial problem, confronting not only South Africa but also the United Nations, is the uncertain status of South-West Africa. This was originally a German colony which was conquered by South African forces in World War I. The Treaty of Versailles (1919) and later the League of Nations conferred upon the Government of South Africa a mandate for the administration of this territory. But when, after World War II, the League was

- 39 -
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

dissolved and became the United Nations, the question arose whether the original mandate could be automatically converted into a trusteeship arrangement under the United Nations.

The Union Government objected vigorously to the suggestion, and the matter was referred to the Hague Court. The latter issued an advisory ruling in 1950 to the effect that South Africa was under no legal obligation to convert the mandate into a trust, and could not be compelled to do so. But the Court also expressed the opinion that the Union was bound in international law to abide by certain obligations it had assumed under the League.

This ruling of the Hague Court was generally interpreted (at least outside of South Africa) as meaning that the Union should continue to act in the spirit of the mandate, and should conduct the administration of South-West Africa in a manner that would satisfy world opinion. This would presumably involve the duty to submit to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations the kind of periodic reports that would have been rendered to the old League.

This interpretation has been consistently rejected by the Nationalists who, however, are in hearty agreement with the Court's finding that the mandate was dead. Therefore, although de jure the Union Government can in South-West Africa have only such rights as are derived from the former mandate conferred by the old League,

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

de facto the territory has for years been administered practically as if it were merely another province of South Africa. A Legislative Assembly of 18 members - all of whom are, of course, Whites - controls local affairs, and 15 of them are Nationalists. Since 1949 they have been sending Deputies to the Parliament in Cape Town, whose avowed policy - to quote Prime Minister Strijdom - is "to strengthen the territory's close association with the Union, lest it get isolated and become an easy prey for the United Nations!" This can only mean a determination to bring about its complete incorporation into the political system of the Union.

The population of South-West Africa is only about 300,000, of whom less than 50,000 are Whites, mostly of English, Dutch, or German descent. The German settlers (numbering c. 15,000) have been there since 1892. They hold the balance of political power and usually support the Nationalist Party. As they occupy an area twice the size of California, they cannot possibly stand on their own feet. Most of the Whites are therefore in favor of joining the Union, and as only they have the vote the ultimate outcome cannot be in doubt. But in view of the Apartheid policy of the South African Government, native opinion (if it were consulted) would probably be opposed. The most vocal among the tribes have been the Herreros and they have repeatedly appealed to the South-West African Committee of the United Nations.

- 41 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Many member states of the United Nations - especially the non-White ones which are all opposed to so-called "colonialism" and "imperialism" - want to protect the natives and insist that the United Nations exercise some kind of supervision over the affairs of the territory. They argue, not without reason, that strictly speaking if the Union Government's contention were accepted that the mandate had expired, it would logically follow that the Union's right to be in South-West Africa at all had likewise expired. The Government of South Africa has of course no intention of accepting this line of reasoning, or any form of United Nations surveillance, and will almost certainly end the deadlock by an outright annexation of the territory. In the meantime, discussions with the United Nations continue and will probably result in some temporary compromise arrangement.

South-West Africa is interesting because it is the last surviving Mandate under the old League of Nations which has not expired either by becoming a trusteeship territory of the United Nations or by becoming self-governing.

X. What of the Future?

The Union of South Africa, having the largest settled white population on the continent, feels - as I have tried to show in this Memorandum - that it is today providing the greatest guarantee

- 42 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

for the continued existence of Western civilization in Africa. Its white inhabitants therefore start from the fixed basis that they will never grant any political rights to the non-Whites, because to do so would destroy their cultural and ethnic identity and would inevitably lead to political domination by the Bantu because of the latter's crushing weight of numbers. They point to the undeniable fact that only the skill, energy, and financial power of the white man have made possibly the higher standards of living now enjoyed by both Whites and Blacks, and they are doggedly consistent in maintaining that neither education nor legalistic quibbling will ever bridge the gulf between the races.

The magnitude of the problem is admitted by everybody, but by no means everybody - not even members of the same Party - are agreed on the best way of solving it. There has been endless controversy about the ultimate results of Apartheid or the possibility of pursuing it to any kind of logical conclusion. All an outsider can hope to do today is to try to acquire a greater understanding of the complexities of a question which is bound to plague South Africa and her friends for many years to come.

Any impartial observer cannot help but leave South Africa with a feeling of profound anxiety about the future. In an age in which everywhere else in the world subject races are being allowed

CONFIDENTIAL

to strive toward their political emancipation, the present government in South Africa is officially proclaiming a policy of perpetual subordination of non-Whites by means of measures which to the latter must seem high-handed and unjust. The infinitely delicate relations between the colored races and the Whites - as we have discovered in the United States - will never be adjusted merely by the imposition of repressive and discriminatory legislation. Such a policy may entrench European supremacy for a while because of the apathy of the natives, but it can hardly be expected to remain a permanent state of affairs. In trying to put the clock back too far South Africa may be undermining the foundations of her own security.

The fallacy of the theory of Apartheid, it seems to me, lies in the refusal of its advocates to face facts. For it is obvious that the Whites will always be greatly outnumbered by the Blacks - even in the so-called "white areas" of South Africa - not only because the Reserves will never be able to support much more than half of the Bantu population, but because the non-Europeans are increasing more rapidly as their death rate is brought down by improved sanitation. It seems almost unbelievable, but in this year's general election (April 1958) the total number of votes cast (all white, of course) was less than 1.2 million, out of a population of nearly 14 million. To believe that such a small minority will be allowed to control the destinies of the country indefinitely, is to harbor a dangerous illusion from which there may be a rude awakening.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

One sometimes feels that the average white South African is well aware of the likelihood of such a "rude awakening" and that he has made Apartheid a policy of fear and despair with which he hopes to put off the evil day as long as possible. But as the policy itself is breeding primitive race hatreds and prejudices it may well have the opposite effect and invite an early violent showdown. For the black man throughout Africa will no doubt be much influenced by what is happening in Ghana - whether the experiment there is a success or not is immaterial - and he may not be willing to wait another generation or two before he challenges white supremacy in earnest. (See my recent Memorandum on Ghana). It is therefore inevitable that sooner or later a Bantu nationalism will emerge in South Africa and will make "peaceful co-existence" with the Whites impossible, as it seems likely that the latter will not hesitate to use force on a large scale. And the ominous lull which still prevails is hardly able to conceal an atmosphere of terror on the one hand, and of suspicion on the other.

The growing bitterness is perhaps best illustrated by the semi-humorous remark a Bantu recently made to a European as they were standing near railway tracks under a sign which read "Natives Cross Here". The Bantu remarked dryly, "This does not go far enough; it should read 'Natives Very Cross Here'!" And these feelings of

- 45 -

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

resentment have occasionally found expression through boycotts and strikes, often accompanied by outbreaks of violence. Passive resistance has also been tried - organized in 1953 by Manilal Gandhi, whose father the Mahatma had as long ago as 1914 led a passive resistance campaign among the Indians in South Africa. Several new laws passed by the Nationalists give the Government powers to deal with increasing severity with all such manifestations. Moreover, the South African army and police feel quite sure that they can handle any cases of civil disobedience or uprisings. Nevertheless, the Whites view with apprehension the possibility of having the entire economy of the country completely paralyzed by boycotts and strikes in defiance even of stern repressive measures and punishments.

What the ultimate solution may be no one can predict with any degree of certainty at this stage. Any kind of social integration is, of course, out of the question in any foreseeable future, but if years of turmoil and an almost certain catastrophe are to be avoided, some formula will have to be found which will not deprive the non-Whites of all hope of advancement outside of their Reserves. The white South African seems to be obsessed with the idea that ignorant and semi-barbarous natives must not be allowed to "interfere" in the Government. And yet it is precisely in the political field that a new pattern for race relations will have to be found. There

- 46 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

is no reason why a carefully and realistically planned compromise between the legitimate interests of the Europeans and the equally legitimate interests and aspirations of the non-Europeans should not be possible. The main thing is to give the natives something to hope for and to encourage them in the belief that they will some day - depending largely on the progress they themselves make - be given a certain amount of political freedom.

A beginning could perhaps be made in the urban areas where over one and a half million Bantu are already permanently settled, and their number is growing every day because of the demand for labor in the mines and factories. As previously explained in this Memorandum, their labor is absolutely essential for the white man's prosperity. Even if there were white immigration on a large scale (which is opposed by the Nationalists) it would be hopeless to expect it to redress the balance between the two races. Assuming therefore that the Bantu population in and near cities and towns cannot be sent back to the Reserves - however much total Apartheid may desire it - it is obvious that some form of economic integration has already taken place and will become more and more inevitable. It could thus form the basis for a feeling of interdependence between the races, and especially a feeling on the part of the Blacks of belonging to a going concern and of having a real stake in the community.

- 47 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

By allowing the Bantu gradually to occupy skilled and semi-skilled jobs - which need cause no unemployment among the Whites - it might be possible to build up a native middle class which would adapt itself to the existing economic system without disrupting it. Here is where the million or so Coloreds (see page 9, above) could be used to great advantage. They would not even expect complete parity with the Whites but would be quite happy to secure a modest outlet to express their aspirations for a somewhat higher standard of living, perhaps a small degree of local self-government, and a more effective representation in Parliament. It is this hope for better things and broader opportunities that may create enough good will for some form of partnership and cooperation and loyalty to South Africa as a whole.

It will not be easy to accomplish this. But there are today quite a few farsighted and humane men and women - especially among the English-speaking Whites - who courageously oppose what they consider the folly of extremist Apartheid. The most vocal among them (e.g., Father Trevor Huddleston and the Reverend Michael Scott) attack the policy chiefly as un-Christian and morally wrong. This may be too idealistic an approach for practical purposes, but it has done much to earn the trust and respect of the non-Whites and to restore the confidence of the rest of the world. Indirectly

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

they have also influenced the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church who in turn are in a position to mold political opinion. A clear-cut moral judgment cannot, of course, be the final answer. But I am tempted to close by quoting the sensible words of a prominent South African (whose name I did not learn) which illuminate the whole confused picture by their simplicity:

"You can play on the white keys of a piano, and you can play on the black, but to make real music you need both!"

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15 10 41 30

- 49 -

CONFIDENTIAL